DEMOCRATICA

CRATERNITY

DEMOCRACY HERE AND ABROAD

Vital Differences Between British and American Conception of Term on One Hand, and the Continental on the Other-The Necessity of Understanding the Two Points of View

BY ALBERT JAY NOCK.

THEN we put out our proposal to "make the world safe for democracy" foreign democrats gave it a currously cavalier reception that might well have aroused our scientific imagination. British Liberals—that is, the political Liberals welcomed it with enthusiasii. The more radical groups, those who recently assented to the new Russian international policy, spoke less and guardedly. The German democrats were silent; well, one can account for that on the assumption, whatever it amounts to, that they are kept down by a reign of terror. But the French democrats also spoke in only a perfunctory fashion, while the private and semi-public utterances. of the Italian democrats were mildly skeptical. The Russian democrats alone have spoken their mind with a fulress of freedom which our newspapers find most offensive, calling us imperialist and chanylnist, imputing sordid motives to our connection with the war, and generally ridiculing our pretensions to democracy.

pecially, appears to us unjust, and natur-|legal privileges, from tariffs, franchises, ally we resent it. But more resentment delegated rights in land, natural reyields only an insipid and depressing sat- sources, and other forms of property isfaction, and, in the long run, is sterile, which by hypothesis are public. Its an-Clearly, there is a unsunderstanding be- tiffiesis is not autocracy, but absolutism. tween us and the Russians; and the im- of which autocracy is but one special portant thing is not to dwell on the mis-, form the legal right of any person or understanding, but to find out how it class of persons to appropriate the earngrose. Our Government, with exemplary high of other persons without compensapatience, sends commissions and propa-ition. Mr. Jefferson's maxim, "Equal ganda to explain ourselves to the Rus- rights to all and special privileges to sians; which is all very well, but one can none," if worked out in the economic not help thinking that it is less our duty isense as well as in the political sense to make the Russians understand us then in which we have exclusively applied to make ourselves understand them. It would pretty well cover the Contijust as it would seem less their duty to nental notion of democracy. It is by

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this. If the Russians were negligible, if trial democracy" of the Socialists. The they might be looked at and passed by, differences are interesting and instrucit would perhaps not much matter wheth- live, but of no particular consequence er we understood them or not. But as here. Neither is it to the point to distime goes on, it becomes increasingly cuss the relative merits of these two clear that the apparent instability and theories of democracy. The point is to disorder in Russia have a pretty distinct note firmly that they are different. We principle behind them. The Lveff-Milyu- have an unquestioned right to our interkoff regime and the succeeding regime pretation of the term, as the Continenof Kerensky were not destroyed out of tal democrat has to his; but in our sheer turbulance, but were set aside i project of making the world safe for deapparently with unusual gentleness and mocracy, it is merely laying the way for personal good-will because they did not inevitable disappointment to assume a quite express the revolutionary ideas cur- unanimity that does not exist. Certain rent among the people. The people seemed, in Strafford's phrase, strong for gramme already impress us as unnatural a policy of "thorough" and were indis- and shocking. The confiscation of the posed to compromite. The Bolshevikl Eussian lands, the repudiation of the pubhave succeeded in putting such a policy lie debt, the willingness to parley with in terms which, whatever we may think the Germans—the revelation that the of them otherwise, do not lack distinct. Russians have nothing against the Gerness; and sime Lenine and Trotzky mans as Germans or the English as Enghave managed to hold on as long as they lish, but only against imperialism,

ment of the people. Further, there is no denying that the impression that these terms have made on the world is not only deep, but permanent. It does not depend on the congroup in Russia, or on the success or batches for their leanings towards this failure of any revolutionary progress. The Bolsheviki might be swept away tosituating and pervasive spirit that has crat, all this is commonplace, and that pects of our polity will shape themselves. effectively tempered whole climates of for him, making the world safe for deopinion all over the earth. It has insensibly cularged and readjusted vision,

to the negonations at Diese-Litovsk all those Germans and they are perpose on citier side, but to something that those who own, rule, and they rule Large areas of opinion are forming there, thon was damped by the thought that ish public from Mr. Gerard's eulogy, which no public descussion of Russian because they own; and that it must be which no purite discussion of Russian establish that it must be affairs has as yet brought out, namely, so, regardless of institutional forms, reaffairs has as yet brought out, namely, so, regulatess of institutional forms, rethe fundamental difference between the gardless of the intentions of even the dethe fundamental difference between the gardiess of the intentions or even the de-British-American and the Continental sires of the ruling groups. Thus when the Russians talk about democracy, we Russians simply point to the fact that are simply not talking about the same 10 per cent. of our population owns 90 thing. This difference is not new; it is per cent, of our whole national wealth noted in every standard encyclopædia, and that 3 per cent, owns practically all. But it is new to us, because it has now the land values of the Va British American and the Continental sires of the ruling groups. Thus when theories of democracy. When we and we claim to be a democratic country, the Continent. The issue appears to be at made dependent on the acceptance of up arms in order to defend the freedom noted in every standard encyclopædia, and that a per cent, owns practically an with Continental democracy, and the claimed their certainty that Germany in a sound that claimed their certainty is a sound that claimed for the first time any practical signifi- Under these circumstances, they say, first with the spirit of American democthe mater more or less the concern of here. Our political institutions may be scholars, and of no immediate practical ever so admirable—and they admire them interact to the Four words of the Four wo interest to us. Four years ago, or one but they do not insure democracy or uncertain world, that in 1920 a rousing the Continental democrat spoke of democ- ing groups may be wholly unselfish and racy he meant something wholly different public-spirited, but inasmuch as they from what we mean by if " Fancy an own, they inevitably rule. For approxi-

British political writers have always but a large proportion of the people own. used the term democracy in a purely ex- Ownership is relatively well diffused. The ternal and matitutional sense, to describe propertyless dependent class is relativea form of government; and American ly small, and hence, notwithstanding their writers without exception, as far as I monarchist institutions, the people really am aware, have followed them The rule. standard American work on the subject, This, then, is the gist of a most importo indicate a conception of democracy es- What is the use of trying to reach the steamers for ocean service. Their spokessentially different from that held by Russian and German democrats with any man, Levy Mayer, of Chicago, declared a machinery of political control is operated forts are worse than wasted. The fact is, by the people. Its antithesis, as we are we propose to make the world safe for in- the lakes already more than forty ships continually told, is autocracy. Thus the stitutional and political democracy, for and has autounced that it intends to Continuate country; democracy for the Locke-Bentham-Wil- take out thirty more as soon as the so is France; so, too, is England, since son definition. Such we see to be our spring thaw sets in. monarchy there is constitutionalized to duty, our right, our privilege; and for this monarchy there is constitutionalized to we are ready to make the gigantic sacrithe point of evaporation. One may say we are ready to make the gigantic sacrithe point of evaporation. One may say roughly that for us a democratic coun- fices already foreshadowed by our entry is one where most men and some wo- trance into the war. All the more reason men have a vote which they may cast then that we should see clearly that

tographs and commercial fiction!

his absorbing labors over a fresses' pho-than to the United States or France. Both

approximately as they please, and where throughout all Europe the British Liber-

the relation between the people and the al is alone interested in this type and

Holland and Denmark are monarchies,

officeholders is nominally that of master alone disposed to accept it; and he does and servant. litical self-expression than of diffused and its notion of democracy seemed as limited brought it about. impartial ownership. Law-made proper- and anachronistic to the average culture impartial ownership. Law-made property as distinguished from labor-made of the Continent as to Adolph Wagner or repeated thoughtlessly and without pre-

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well; we are quite right in doing that.

It forms no part of our theory, and is

repugnant to our practice of democracy.

People are jailed and deported in large

THE IRRESISTIBLE ATTACK

method with public questions. But it is class by a diffusion of ownership, and a matter of simple intellectual honesty then these institutional and political asto know that to the Continental demo-This, I repeat, is not our sense of de-

morrary means making it safe for just mocracy. Democracy, with us, has no imthis kind of thing. On the other hand, plication of ownership; and we are wholly the Continental democrat is as little in- right in our effort to promote democracy play of consciousness among all peoples. Iterested in our programme as we are in according to our own theory of it. But play of consciousness among all peoples. Hence, whatever the political vicissitudes his Mere extension of the franchise, aside from clearing the issue as it stands of the Russian nation, it is mere idleness mere upsetting or constitutionalizing of at present, aside from the advantage to doubt that this spirit has set itself an autocracy-or, as we express it in which knowledge always brings, we ought permanently as a force to be reckoned our lighter moments, "canning the to know that our theory is not shared with.

Kaiser"—leaves him, as we plainly see, by the Continental democrats, inasmuch

nucles to us from years ago, or one out they do not insure democracy or uncertain world, that in 1920 a rousing were solitary in their opposition to the, icop were naced. So were the Engineer and when even appreciably promote it. Our own-Republican majority will stiffen the adperialism, and we shall assert our theory of democracy effectively. Under these American editor giving space to such a mations to democracy, the Russians circumstances it is invaluable to know, theme a maguzine-editor, say, busy with point rather to Holland and Denmark the strength of the opposition it will

LAKE SHIP-OWNERS PROTEST.

Urse that Government Remove More of Their Vessels.

WASHINGTON, January 30 (by A. P.) -

Had Repeated Rumor that Pope Was

Rostile to Italy. Adrian Issiin, chairman of the Committee of Catholic Laymen, has received a letter from F. C. Walcott, of the United supreme obstacle to peace, whose property of the British Green States Food Administration, retracting a supreme of the British Green Lambday, Lambday 19, 1915, Atabelia B Dash, with the states Food Administration, retracting a supreme of the British Green Lawrence of West Assembly States Food Administration, retracting a supreme of the British Green Lawrence of West Assembly States Food Administration, retracting a supreme of the British Green Lawrence of West Assembly States Food Administration, retracting a suprementation of the Chancellor down to Interment at Sheeps Hollow. But this is not the Continental con- tions from the same political glossary States Food Administration, retracting a chee at the head of the British Green ception of democracy. Continental writers use the term to describe the essential man, and Italian democrats are no more servation meeting in this city on January, milder words, and Lord Lan downs nature of a society which has abolished interested in it than the Russians; they 15, attributing to the Pope a measure of reasoned argument little more than an the possibility of legislating wealth. De-never have been. When Dr. Wilson's responsibility for the Italian disaster and interesting phenomenon, he next raise

property, is inadmissible; law-made proptal democrat is primarily interested in not verified, and which he is now con- not impossible making the world safe for a stringent vinced was untrue. In his letter be comrevision of the doctrine of public and pri- ments upon the categorical denial of the senable Conservatives in Germany in vate property. Let us, he says, first set- l'ope's Minister of Foreign Affairs, the short, all those clements in the thems tle the matter of ownership, on which denial of Cardinal Bourne, of London, countries upon a expersivement such the the matter of ownersing on which define of Cardinal Bourds, of Landon, which the changes of a desire full of the policy and the unequivocal statement of the which the changes of a desire full of the policy of propertyless dependent Prime Minister of Italy.

A SPEECH BY PRINCE

opposition to the Prussian franchise re- able contession made by a distinguished home with senses alert and burning

sia, could not conceal their misgiv, criments, in France, James was mur-

rupture of the negotiations in Germany Russia on July 25 that she should not there is no means of knowing. The ruin regotiations by a general mobilizameable telegraph c reports show chiefly too the words which Bethmann-Hollweg meet as well as the cooperation it will at that the curtain of elence has been drep. used to Vienna on July 36, to save the ped heavily. We hear vaguely of all the place of the world! After the | concomitants of a crisis-the hurred Sakt Chas that the story of the summoning of the Reichstag Main Com- inproceed attack had indeed worn a mittee, a meeting of the Prussian Crown of the thin in England and France. No Council, a denial of Ludendorff's resigna. He women the President of the tion (which is tantamount to an ad- Linted States to use the old war-cry? mission that it was offered), and a sol What right has he to speak and fight in emn meeting of the Majority Socialists; the name of humanity! While he main-Representatives of Great Lake shipping which Vorwarts describes as the most called America's legal right to supply stands of American work on the subject of the Shipping Board important since that of August 4, 1914 (the Entente with munitions of war, he probably, i. Woodrow Wilson's freatise tant difference in definition. Too much interests protested to the Shipping Board important since that of August 4, 1914 (the Entente with munitions of war, he a crucial decision had to be taken the dlowers the German prisoners of war purely factitious unity of the Higher in Ra sa whom he had taken under his sentially different from that first the first and further removal of ships from the lakes Command and the Reichstag majority care to be shamefully mishandled under Locke and Benthain. To the mass of us, propaganda except such as is shaped and further removal of ships from the lakes Command and the Reichstag majority care to be shamefully mishandled under Locke and Bentham. To the mass of us, conditioned by this difference? Our ef-would seriously interfere with commerce. shattered. What will be the expression The Shipping Board has taken from of the deep and bitter disappointment of the political majority of the German posple it would be premature to speculate Besides the fact that the rupture may not be quite so absolute after all ifor the Germans are quite capable of ac-

lettre), the situation has been completely altered by Mr. Lloyd George's declaration of January 5. He who was to every Adrian Iselin, chairman of the Commit- German, from the Chancellor down to morracy is less a matter of diffused po- book appeared some twenty years ago, for t' disruptive propaganda which had eving behind him the responsible lend Mr. Walcott says in his letter that he made a statement which, if it be correct.

for the world mainly restal ad begun

to despute of an England in which Mr. To them he stubborn refusal to opinion It would be a false and worthless Trak a conditatory word seemed as the political truce which sought to suppress world to interminable war. We have in the opening speech made by Prince Max those who have to guide the destinics of will to interminable war. We have in A silence audible has descended upon the opening speech made by Prince Max the democratic press in Germany. Since of Baten to the Upper House of the the peoples. All have to share this burthe resentment of the stiff-necked Junker Baden Diet, on December 19, an invalue of who are living through the war at

form threatened to assume the daneer, and teasonable German, which is not hearts. Everywhere the forces of salvaous form of mass meetings (duly pro. only index sting in itself as evidence that tion are listening for each other, everyhibited by the Oberkommando of the thruz Laberalism does dwell in high where the world is weary of the mora-Our misonderstanding with Russia is only lukewarm. He accepts it as inci- as there are distinct signs of a coming Mark)—the attention of German, but also shows how torium of the Sermon on the Mount. Our missingers and the state of ting to make sacrifices for its sake; and and that he should expect no more from the labor party of the labo the Russian people are quite as much in earnest as we are The misunderstanding is not due to any insincerity of purpose on citler side, but to something that those who own, rule; and they rule ing is not one to any insincerity of pur-tendmental conception of democracy is pose on either side, but to something that those who own, rule; and they rule ership appears to be a thing of the past of course by the Left. Their satisfact Germany should be familiar to the Brit-

What was the immediate effect of the Grey had only to aid to his warning to

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Deaths

KNIGHT-Suddenly, on January 30, 1918 Kat Palen, wife of the late A. Lyman Knight, at the residence of her daugh-ter, Mrs. C. H. Stuart, Newark, N. Y. od, Park, in the eighty-minth year of her age. Pusced pownts. NATHAN On Monday, January 28, 1918, Prederick, beloved husband of Maud Fune al services will be held Nutrain, Funt of services will be held at his late residence, 225 West 86th Street, on Thur-day morning at 9:30

TION in the State of New Yorkof the death on January 29, 1918, of Jos. sh Hedden a member of this So-

ROPERT OLYPHANT.

Russian democracy that it should be allow "Love of the enemy is the aign given a change of peace in order to con- of these who are loyal to Germany," solidate its new freedom. Thus, Prince Power alone cannot assure us the po-Prince Max denied the right of the En- sition in the world which we consider tente to invoke justice and humanity, due to us. The sword cannot destroy the We cannot accept his view of the facts, moral oppositions which have arisen but it is important to realize that a man against us. If the world is to be reconwhose high principle and good faith are calcul to the greatness of our power, it beyond question sincerely believes that must feel that there is a world conscience the Entente is as guilty as Germany. | behind it.

The Entente, he continued, and Amer- | Such is the well-prepared ground upon ica in particular, have taken upon them- which Mr. Lloyd George's words of modselves "the atterly grotesque rôle of wish-; eration will fall in Germany. Prince ang to liberate the German people from Max', speech has been received by the their tyrants. Why, the real trouble in whole of the democratic and Liberal press Germany has been that the majority of in Germany as the beginning of a new Germans indolently accepted the authori- eta. His speech is, in effect, the reply to ties without any desire to be personally Lord Langdowne and food Hugh Cecili responsible for the Fatherland" But the Paul Robrbach wrote of it: "This speech war has been a great awakener.

ers, Stein and Hardenberg, to-day rises portunity. with warning and promise form the past. Whether this promise is fulfilled depends solely on the character of our people. In Jewish Benevolent Order Is Seventy this age of confused catchwords, it must be said with all emphasis that institutions' alone cannot guarantee the freedom of a tee, the character of the people itself 1813, will celebrate its seventy-fifth anni-But there can be no doubt that the longer versary under the auspices of District Europe will not be able to put forth the

fearful wounds." to fight to utter exhaustion. Lloyd George Maurice P. Davidson, first vice-president; will not hear of economic peace. Clemen- Charles H. Shapiro, Second vice-presiceau denounces the League of Nations, dent. Herman Asher, treasurer; Dr. Northcliffe appeals to President Wilson

as the brother of his soul. Clemenceau deceive us. The unity be. Cohen, Charles M. Stern, Joseph H. Ulla hind their fronts of which they speak man, and William H. Silk. does not exist. Forces are at work in a peace of violence, but only a peace last two days, February 3 and 4. compatible with the honor and security of their country. The enemy ministers have been the first to reveal to us how strong these forces are. Otherwise, why does Clemenceau threaten to court-mar-tial all those who support a peace of understanding; and why does Lloyd George introduce censorship terrorism into the House of Parliament itself? There can be no doubt that a feeling is growing in enemy countries of which the Chauvinists are afraid. Its representatives may because the Seth J. T. Bush, and will consider through Saturday. A new feature time through Saturday. A new feature of the sessions will be lessons in plant diseases given by experts from the State toolege of Agriculture. The fruit expensive provides the session of choice specimens of fruit consists of choice specimens of fruit grown in the State. The State Food through Saturday. ists are afraid. Its representatives may bread. possibly come into power. But we must be under no illusions. To-day they are still condemned to political impotence, BOURGEOIS GALLERY, 668 Fifth Avenue Land and they may long remain so."

Germany has then a double duty, to gather all its strength together for the struggle; and, secondly to make clear to itself with what spirit it is resolved to approach the new ordering of things. Therefore, it must not fear the clash of

of battle, but of the heathen way of thinking which so many intellectually distinguished men of all countries adopt almost with pride during the war. It must be that we depart from this coarsen-

ing before the war ends" To a Christian soldier, he adds, the troops to respect the enemy-a respect

the Czardom. He was deserto the call of which the maso press at home will not

is a new thing. It is a programme, and "We have the right to expect the high- it is all important that those who share est for our national future from the great its temper should express themselves will to unity which has grown up in the plainly." The events that have followed field. The spirit of our political reform- since will give German Liberalism its op-

B'NAI B'RITH'S JUBILEE.

five Years Old.

The Independent Order Blad Brith, people. There is only one real guaran, which was founded in New York city in the war lasts, the harder was see the rebirth. Not only with us, but with our ple Emanuel next Saturday evening enemy also. Among them, too, their at eight o'clock. Representatives will be flower is falling. Who could rejoice over this? We may come to the point where this? We may come to the point where The Independent Order Brail Britts recuperative power necessary to close its has a membership of over 50,000. It is

pumarily a benevolent organization. The officers of District Grand Lodge To-day, it seems that Europe will have No. 1 are: Joseph Rosensweig, president mattee of arrangements for the celebra-tion consists of Charles Hartman, Henry "We must not let Lloyd George and Asher, Samuel Fleischman, Judge A. K

The celebration will be followed by convention at the B'nai B'rith headquar-France and England, which do not want ters, 2307 Brendway. The convention will

Horticulturists Meet at Rochester. ROCHESTER, N. Y., January 30 (by A. P.) -The Western New York Horticula

THE ART CALENDAR.

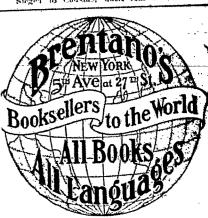
exhibition of a section of the A. E. Gallatta KNOEDLER GALLERY, 556 Fifth Avenue Mean ern drawings, water-colors, etc.
MACRITH GALLERY, 450 Fifth Avenue-Least exhibition of the work of Arthur B. Davies until January 31.

MUNICIPAL ART GALLERY, 40 Irving Place Sixth annual exhibition of the Association for County until February 1.
MODERN GALLERY, 500 Fifth Avenue Modern drawings, water-colors, etc.

Annual exhibition of the paluter and sculpted members until February 1. MONIROSS GATLERY, 550 Fifth Avenue Paintings by thirteen Americans until January

ABCOCK GALLERY, 19 East 49th Street must exhibition of Western paintings by Willham R Leigh until bebruary 1.

ROLLUR CLUE, 47 Eart 60th Street-Chrone logical excitation of mezzotimes from Ven Sieges to Cousins, until March 6,



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